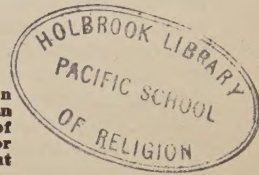


Social Questions

BULLETIN

of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, a membership organization which seeks to deepen within the Church the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solution; and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges.



Volume 39

APRIL, 1949

Number 3

Greece and the Truman Doctrine

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This is a very ambitious subject for a Methodist Minister who has been serving a Methodist Church for the past two years far removed from Greece. My right to discuss this topic rests upon the fact that I was in Greece in 1944 and 45. In this paper I shall cling to my own personal experiences to show that the Truman Doctrine was super-imposed upon the sand of military intrigue and international politics—another chapter in a tragedy of political errors.

I was one of the first UNRRA officers to enter Greece in October 1944 following the withdrawal of the Germans. I had been loaned by UNRRA as a relief officer to serve with the British Military Liaison, which by agreement with UNRRA was to service Greece during the first six months of the so-called liberation of Greece. M.L. turned out to be a British military occupation of Greece, directed against EAM and ELAS, the political and military organizations which developed during the German occupation. I had been quartered with M.L. in the desert outside of Alexandria for six weeks. I observed the guns and fighting troops and was aware of the anti-EAM orientation but felt that the "Military security" was to be directed against the Germans. The convoy of 22 ships which arrived outside of the Pireaus Harbor on October 16th was loaded with military personnel and equipment. The surviving pride of the Greek fleet, the Avoroff, quartered the prime minister, Mr. Papandreou, cabinet and officials of the exile government of Greece.

Severe protests had already been registered by EAM (National Liberation Front) and the Provisional Government of Greece against the arbitrary imposition of the exile and British directed government. EAM supporters felt that they had shared a hard earned moral right to give leadership to Greece. EAM and ELAS, the Provisional Army, were in control of Greece. They had completely defeated the infamous German "Greek security battalions." The pro-British counter movement, EDES, under Napoleon Zervas, which was opposed to the inter-Balkan and domestic policies of EAM dissolved before the attack of ELAS. Both the German "Greek security battalions" and EDES found refuge with the British.

My first day in Greece is fully described in the following statement which I wrote in October 1944:

"Our ship was anchored just outside the Pireaus Harbor on October 16th in the early afternoon. The Avoroff stood to one side and was joyfully cheered by thousands of Greeks thronging the shore. All who could get into some kind of boat came near. Appropriate ceremonies were held to properly commemorate this tremendous occasion of the triumphal return of the Queen of the Greek fleet. The ship lay deeply and proudly in Greek waters and seemed to share the glorious occasion. To me there was a sadness. The old

ship could only symbolize the old dignity of 1910 when it was given to the Greek navy. The ship was old and had little in common with the new. There were those few who hoped that with the ship would come the king. The king was not there nor could he ever come to Greece except through bloodshed. Greece expected more than the Avoroff and its show and ceremony. It was a poor show. It was impossible for me to believe that it was more than a show—a thought and respect for the day.

"Allied bombing had damaged the harbor and Germans had sunk several ships in the channel so that we had to land by barge. We arrived in St. George dock after dark and had to shift for ourselves. Our unit found an open place about 100 yards from the dock, where we prepared our cots and opened emergency rations.

"Two officers and I went up the street nearby towards a small business district to scout around a bit. We passed through welcome arches and were joyfully received. The arches read: 'Welcome, Noble Allies,' 'God Bless America, England and Russia,' 'Hurrah for Our Comrades in Arms.' We seemed to be the only ones who dared venture into the business area. Here we received the full benefit of the celebrations. We approached a KKE (Communist) and EAM (National Liberation Front) local headquarters and walked into one of the meeting halls. The walls were decked with American, English and Russian flags. People thronged around us and were anxious to shake the hands of the first English and the first American they had seen since the Germans had left, just three days before. At the moment the rear guard was 14 miles north of Athens. I shall never forget the Greek who explained that our coming was a guarantee that Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin meant business about freedom and that the Atlantic Charter was real. The pictures of these leaders were seen in equal proportion in every street and almost every store window. We had difficulty in getting through the crowds to our camping place. One thing we were sure about was that all Greece would give us a genuine and sincere welcome.

"I lay awake most of the night looking straight into the sky. It was a dark night. The ground underneath our cots was damp. We were camped in a place that never quite dried out. This was a dry period of the year. I wondered how these people could know so much about the Atlantic Charter and its guarantees for economic and political freedom. They looked more poorly dressed and far hungrier than any I had ever seen in America in the worst days of the depression in 1934 and 35. And yet they had not asked for food or clothes. They expected that we would help them. They talked of themselves as brothers in arms and gave their victorious comrades a rousing welcome. They expected much. They were happy to be released from their Balkan trap.

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They rejoiced in the new freedom which would give every man a self-respecting stake in the resources of the world. They believed in those of us who represented the big nations to help them in a democratic way of life. They, with us, had fought a good fight to win the right to establish democracy in Greece and the world. They were well versed in the Allied propaganda about freedom which had come to them through the underground and by radio. They believed that we were the messengers to link arms with them to build a world that was safe for the common man. They asked most that we would appreciate what they had been through in the terrible four years of slavery and to understand. The old patterns were completely torn loose. EAM was for the masses the genuine vehicle of the new day."

The most stirring mass meeting I have ever witnessed took place three days later on the 19th of October and is best told from my notes written the next day.

"I attended the tremendous meeting in the Constitution Square on Wednesday morning and was able to look over the tremendous crowd and hear Papandreu make his talk. EAM was deeply entrenched in the crowd. Its parties came from every direction with all kinds of banners. Throughout the talk they shouted what appeared on their signs: 'Popular Free Courts,' 'Glory to Our Dead,' 'Welcome Allies,' 'Honor and Glory to the Brave Dead Heroes of the EAM,' 'Revenge,' 'Remember Haidari' (the worst concentration camp), 'Down with the Bulgarians,' 'Democracy,' 'The People Must Have the Power,' 'Unity and Order,' 'Long Live the National Government,' 'The EAM Welcomes the National Government,' 'Long Live the Communist Party.' All this was of course in Greek and I had it interpreted. The initials KKE and EAM were everywhere. The Royalist Party was not represented but did release leaflets from the balconies around the Square. It was obvious that the total population was reduced to a common level. They looked very much like a crowd of unemployed in the United States at the worst part of the depression. The condition of the people around the poor neighborhoods is much worse than what appeared in the mass on Liberation Day. They had ceremonies in which the Greek flag was officially raised on the Acropolis and a wreath was placed on the tomb of the Unknown Soldier. This demonstration was quite a contrast to the lone German Lieutenant who walked up to the Acropolis at 10 o'clock Thursday morning and took down the German flag and then walked to the tomb of the Unknown Soldier and placed a wreath there. The people moved into the background and were very silent, many of them kneeling. When the German soldier left, the people rushed in and tore the wreath to pieces."

EAM was fundamentally a people's movement that had been tempered in trials of Greece's severest needs and was prepared to meet the exigencies of rehabilitation and post-war development. That EAM-ELAS failed to retain its leadership and to exercise control of Greece was largely due to the reversal in British policy. It was the first time in modern history that Greece had a realistic political program. A partial list of the constituent organizations belonging to the National Liberation Front (EAM) are as follows: AKE, Agrarian Party of Gavrielidis; DK, Republican Party; DE, Republican Union; ESKE, United Socialist Party of Greece; GSEE, General Federation of Workers; KPE, Central Employees Committee; ELD, Union of Popular Democracy; SKE, Socialist Party of Greece; AKE, Agrarian Party of Vogiatzis; KKE, Communist Party. Popular Committees were democratically functioning in nearly every village and political unit in Greece.

History has memorialized Kalavrita, a town of 3,800 people in which the Germans executed all but 30 of the male population. Reactionary and fascist forces have tried to obliterate the people's movement which helped people to help themselves in their darkest hours and in which the people created a movement to build out of their despair a dream for a better world. 1,800 burned and destroyed towns and villages are symbols of the faith to conquer and build anew.

The new government was determined to disband ELAS and liquidate EAM. EAM agreed to demobilization in favor of the formation of a national army if at the same time the rightists were also disarmed. EAM demanded "The disbandment of all voluntary forces: ELAS, EDES, Mountain Brigade, Sacred Squadron, German Security Battalions, Greek Gestapo Agents and X'ites. The simultaneous disbandment of all armed forces is the best solution for the prevention of civil war. Disarmament of the people, by disbanding ELAS and maintaining the armed forces of the Right, is absolutely inadvisable." EAM Nov. 30, 1944. EAM was also aware of the fact that rightist troops were being organized during the discussion.

Then came the most terrible experience that I have ever witnessed. Prime Minister Papandreu had agreed to allow EAM to have a public meeting in Constitution Square on Sunday morning but withdrew the order late Saturday night. What took place is best quoted from my notes of December 3, 1944.

"I saw the demonstration and the massacre that took place in Constitution Square. My office is in the New Angletiere Hotel which faces the Square. It was evident from the attitudes of British officers for several weeks that trouble would come. That time would come when the people dared to challenge the order of General Scobie that parades and demonstrations were illegal. It was conceded by a somewhat general understanding that today was the day because EAM was determined to have a demonstration and parade.

"A small group of people began to assemble about 9:30 A.M. A line of Greek police stretched across each of the intersections leading into the Square. There were about 15 police at each intersection. With each group was a British M.P. The M.P.'s seemed to assume considerable authority, giving directions and with the police kept the people back and prevented their entering.

"The small number already in the Square called to their fellows to come on in. A few were able to force their way through over the opposition of the M.P.'s and police. There was considerable argument and some rough handling and treatment of persons forcing themselves through the lines of officers.

"Those in the center were dispersed from time to time. They congregated, however, by moving around as they talked things over. Their plan was executed by most of them entering an intersection as if on the way out. The police opened their ranks and the demonstrators were allowed to join their friends. Whereupon they turned around and reinforced by the larger group forced their way through the line of police and entered the Square. This method was used at each intersection reinforced by the fast growing mass of people. A little resistance was made at one intersection. The police finally gave up entirely their efforts to keep people out of the Square. Throughout the morning, parades of demonstrators poured in to join their comrades.

"All this time there were two British armored cars in the Square and several at one end at the upper side of the Square.

"The people organized a parade into University Street past the Grande Brittan Hotel. They massed and moved in this direction. They were fired upon from the direction of the Police Station and the Old Palace. The people fell back. Some ran in fright. Most of them fell to the ground to escape the direct fire of rifles and machine guns. When the firing ceased, they stood and reorganized. Wounded were carried back and up the side streets. A greater and grim crowd began to parade again. Few seemed moved to quit in spite of seeing wounded carried back, among whom were women and children. Those who provided the basis of this attack certainly have underestimated the feelings of these people.

"The crowd pushed towards University Street and were fired upon a second time. This time the firing was in much greater volume and over a wider range. The two armored cars in the Square moved up towards the corner where most

of the shooting took place. Other armored cars began to appear from several directions. No effort was made to stop the shooting of defenseless people. More wounded were carried back and rushed away in cars that were commandeered. The crowd reassembled and in greater numbers concentrated in the direction of University Street. They were fired upon a third time.

"The crowd reassembled and paraded a fourth time and this time achieved their objective. It was interesting to note that a number of police gave up their arms and joined the crowd. In the meantime British armored cars entered every intersection. Tanks appeared and moved slowly around the Square. Planes flew overhead. Nevertheless, the people assembled for a meeting and were addressed by an ELAS General. He spoke on the following subjects: 'Government Without Interference,' 'The Meaning of the Atlantic Charter,' 'Want General Scobie Removed,' 'Papandreu Has Metaxis Fascists in It,' 'Punish the Traitors,' The crowd yelled, 'the people's will should prevail,' and 'the Greek government should be changed.'

"This meeting was quite different from the meeting that was observed on Liberation Day.

"For weeks British officers have been frank in expressing their views about the Greeks. These views are negative and most profane. This morning a number of them expressed the view that this was what they were waiting for and now they could take over the country as they should have done in the first place. There is no question in my mind that this massacre would not have happened except for the coercion, and events of the British policy. It would not have happened this morning except for the presence and support of British soldiers and armored equipment."

Then quoting from notes of the following day: "What can one say about the happenings of these days? Martial law has been declared by the British. People cannot congregate in groups of more than five. Curfew has been ordered for all inhabitants at 7 P.M. All public places are out of bounds. British armored cars and tanks and officers and M.P.'s are everywhere supporting the Greek police. Shooting continues over wide areas. No less than 24 were killed and 150 were wounded yesterday. More have been killed today. The funeral processions of the victims of yesterday were both impressive and ghastly. The procession ended at Ammonia Square where a number were killed and wounded. No doubt this is what the British call law and order. The result of trying to push over on the Greeks a government which they do not want—plus the order which makes free speech, assembly, parades and demonstrations illegal. It should be noted that the Papandreu government did give EAM the right to have their demonstration yesterday but for some reason withdrew the order at 11 P. M. the night before. There is no question but that the British changed the Minister's mind."

The so-called Civil War followed. ELAS was finally defeated and 49,000 andartes turned over their arms and equipment. The British garrisoned all of Greece and expedited the formation of a Greek National Guard which was screened to keep out of its ranks those who had any sympathy for the democratic ideals of EAM. A few of the more realistic fled to the mountains. They had no faith in the promise of amnesty. Many of these were trailed to their death. The head of General Aris of ELAS was displayed in Trikala some weeks later. I had met him in October in Lamia, then the headquarters of ELAS.

You may be interested in a page from my experiences during this terrible war.

"Reported at Maraslion (R.C. Headquarters) at 8 A.M. Found that R.C. was trying to get ELAS permission for safety of R.C. trucks. In the meantime, Mr. Helger arranged so that Miss L. and I could load a truck from Ploutorkou No. 1 storeroom. All workers were on strike so with help of neighbors loaded the truck. On our return to Maraslion found that papers and guarantee pass had not been arranged so left Kifissia without them. Passed through considerable

firing. At one place three British tanks were firing into a working men's neighborhood from a small hill. We stopped and backed up and asked two Tommies if it was safe to pass. One yelled out, 'Hell no, it ain't safe to pass. When you go by the tanks, step on it,' which we did. In Kifissia we were stopped by ELAS who after they understood our mission anxiously inquired about what was happening in Athens. We delivered our supplies to a very happy and relieved staff and crowd of 300 children. We brought enough food for two weeks.

"On our way back, we thought it important to stop at the R.C. Hospital. We drove through furious shooting. The Hospital had just been taken by the Mountain Brigade, a British-led unit and police. The Hospital had been turned into a fortress. Firing was furious both ways. The windows of the Hospital on all sides were broken from bullets. Patients except for some inside rooms on the 2nd and 3rd floors had been moved into the basement. Doctors were still working in the operating room on 2nd floor in spite of great danger. All the Hospital personnel had been arrested. They all showed the strain of three days of fighting. Patients were screaming for water and food. Tried to speak to the Commander about nurses who could be released to take care of the patients. The Commander was nervous about allowing anyone to do anything. We suggested that the Hospital should not be used for fighting or else patients should be removed. The Commander said that he could not make such decisions.

"We returned under strong fire. We passed bodies in the streets which could not be picked up. Wounded were crying for attention. After we passed the end of Kifissia Road our front right tire was pierced by two bullets and the car had to be stopped.

"In the meantime, I arranged to have several barrels and many tins filled with water in one truck and to load another with food. Got in touch with Mr. Archer and asked him to get as many UNRRA workers as possible to drive trucks and work the next day. Miss Psalti made arrangements for truce between 7-8, Saturday to get trucks out of Zappion R.C. park.

"Saturday, December 9, 1944—Arrived at Maraslion at 6:45 A.M. There were some 15 UNRRA and Greek volunteers to drive trucks. They were driven to Zappion and all trucks were successfully evacuated, including some 600 eggs and a motorcycle which we took in my truck. The UNRRA workers were organized to drive and load. Jerry Jacobson arranged to drive truck with water and kerosene for R.C. Hospital. Left with both trucks about 10 A.M. Brought with us two additional volunteer nurses. There was terrible firing all the way. We drove to the front gates of the Hospital which were locked. Terrified people, about 50 women and children (among them two babies, one 10 days old and one 3 mos.) were hiding behind a wall. We calmed these people as best we could. The head nurse of the Hospital had come down but was quite hysterical. We were also obliged to take protection under the wall. In the same yard were wounded and dead. These people had passed the night here due to shooting into their homes. After about 20 minutes a note was delivered by a nurse written by an officer. 'Please come to rear door.' We left under crossfire and drove the trucks around several blocks to the rear of the Hospital. This was not an easy task. We left the trucks hurriedly. The Hospital was in worse disorganization. All the nurses were imprisoned in several rooms. Only a few doctors were allowed to work. The whole maintenance personnel had been arrested and taken away. Fourteen patients had been arrested. Miss L. went to see the Commander again and talked to him about the nurses that she knew. He was very polite and immediately allowed nurses to go to work. Movement in the Hospital was difficult because of gun fire across corridors. Two patients had been killed.

"Miss Adosedes took immediate charge of the distribution of food. Patients ate hungrily from opened tins. Milk was distributed to the children and to typhoid patients. Patients

had not had bandages changed for five days. There was a terrible odor throughout the Hospital. The dead had not been removed from the morgue. Twenty-three corpses were decomposing. Mrs. L. with nurses began serving the most urgent cases. Water had been turned on but due to bullet holes and destruction was flooding part of the Hospital and it was feared would flood the basement where the patients were lying on the floor. Mr. Jacobson and I did our best to find the turnoff but could not find it. Tried to get Commander to have maintenance returned. He gave Superintendent an order to do this. The Superintendent, however, was quite helpless to do anything. The unloading of the trucks was difficult as firing on the Hospital was fierce. Most of the work was left to me with the help of two young doctors.

"We tried again to talk to the Commander about arranging a truce so as to evacuate the Hospital. He could not do this. In the Hospital were several hundred relatives and refugees. Patients were crying to be evacuated. The nervous strain was terrific. There was no fuel with which to cook food. The kitchen was dangerous.

"Had an appointment with Mr. Archer and Sir Craig and Col. Shepherd and discussed the problem of evacuating patients. Mr. Archer promised to do everything he could and made arrangements to talk over with General Scobie. Attended a meeting at ML No. 1 with Col. Lubbock, Mr. Helger, Miss Psalti and Mr. Mulder and discussed problems. It was suggested that military stop using Hospitals or make a truce of 5 hours so that patients could be removed.

"That evening Miss Psalti and I drove ELAS observers and drivers to Pireaus. It was after dark and was a most difficult mission. Stopped seven times—ordered to turn out lights—searched and told to proceed without lights for some distances. After safe delivery of workers went to EAM headquarters and talked with EAM Committee about evacuating Hospital. They agreed that this should be done and promised to discuss with Central Committee. The return was much easier although we were stopped three times. I was quite exhausted by the time I reached the home of Mr. Chelmi."

On June 30, 1945, the following lines appeared in my official reports: "There are probably 80,000 political prisoners in Greece. Can we continue to overlook the fact that fascist's practices are the rule as regards the treatment of liberals and leftists." In the meantime, people with whom I had worked as public officials, doctors, nurses, teachers, and Committee workers were imprisoned and some executed.

My report of June 11, 1945, included the following observations:

"There are many political prisoners in the main towns. (Sparti—350, Kalamata—400, Tripolis—nearly 400, Nafplion—350.) They are badly treated. Many have been severely beaten before entering prison. Many have been held for over two months. There is little provision for feeding them. They are dependent on their families who are being discriminated against in their home communities.

"A large number of civilians are being armed by the National Guard. They are extreme Royalists belonging to 'X' the Union of Crown Democracy. These civilians are causing difficulty and disturbance. There is considerable terrorism. Disputes between members of both the National Guard and the civilian guards with citizens are numerous. One president of a community said that he placed members of the civilian guards on indigent lists regardless of need by order of his monarch. These people carry all types of rifles from shot-guns to regular army rifles. They are allowed to circulate freely, search homes at will, stop and question civilians, etc."

In the meantime, it was my duty to help build up the Regional administrations of UNRRA. Every town was garrisoned by British troops and the Greek National Guard. The morale of the people was as time worn and ragged as their clothes. It seemed to me that at last all hope was gone out of the land, and any suggestion of democratic participation and revival. I had occasion to travel across the

whole northern boundaries of Greece touching on Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania where armed men lived on both sides of these national boundaries. People in northern Greece are related to their northern neighbors more closely than Canadians and Michiganders. Bewildered peasants could not understand why their natural sympathies for their kin across the border should make them unpatriotic and communists. I left Greece in August, 1945.

A dismal and belated election was held in 1946 which gave the authority for the return of the king. Meanwhile, eight governments had succeeded each other unable to cope with the conditions. Eventually, the British withdrew, acknowledging their inability to contend with the hopeless predicament of Greece and knowing that they had lost any semblance of respect in Greece. Most of the British personnel I knew, were sick of their role, which they felt was not in conformity with their own domestic policies in England, and were glad to get out. They had not only exhausted their resources, their morale had dissolved before the obstinate facts of injustice and deceit. Their Churchill doctrine collapsed.

The Royalist-Fascist leadership in Athens has destroyed all democratic institutions and civil liberties in Greece. The Greek High Court granted the appeal of a monarchist deputy, leader of a small Royalist trend in the trade unions, for the annulling of all trade union elections carried out since March 1946; the decisions of the Trade Union Congress of March 1946 including the election of the Executive; and the Citrine and Saillant Agreements. In July 1946 the Greek government ordered the Greek Confederation of Labor to hand over its administration to the Ministry of Labor. This action virtually abolished the free Greek Trade Union movement. British workers protested and condemned the Greek government for setting up "a labor front on the fascist model." Liberals, trade unionists and non-conformists have continued to be arrested, deported and executed without trial.

Upon the heels of the death of the Churchill Doctrine in May 1947, the Truman Doctrine was initiated with the avowed purpose of stabilizing the Royalist-Fascist Greek Government and to assist the Greek government in its war on the guerrillas. This meant that our government gave approval to the terror and violence of the Greek government against its most democratic citizens. The best that we could do to have a faint tinge of liberalism was to invite the services of the aged and senile Mr. Sophoulis. He was a liberal some forty years ago. While I was in Greece his best friends dubbed him so-foolish. Our policy is to keep someone in office to avoid the vacillating experiences during British rule.

Now, 18 months later, President Truman reports, that "Greek morale has sagged and an earlier encouraging prospect for eliminating the guerrillas failed to materialize despite the delivery of more than \$170,000,000 worth of American arms and supplies. A military stalemate has ensued which has prolonged the struggle." The report said American aid commitments to the Greek armed forces have reached \$239,754,826 with \$170,273,499 worth of arms, supplies and services actually rendered.

The truth is, that our American morale just as the British morale fell, and for the same reasons has sagged. *The Greek morale was gone before we ever got into the picture.* To some militarists the Truman Doctrine was a brilliant strategy and was justified on the basis of the cold war against Russia. Now 168,500 American trained and equipped Greek troops are stalemated because of 22,000 guerrillas who are poorly equipped and ill-fed! The truth is, that Greece is a nation of 6,000,000 demoralized peoples who have no stomach for a continuing war against their own people who have been far more sinned against than sinning. The super-structure of American military aid totters because it is built on the sand of international greed, aimed to support a selfish ruling class in Greece. It is said that we have spent in Greece over \$2,000 per Greek. Greece has cost us this much but we have not spent this amount. We have wasted it. The papers

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you see how wonderful life can be?

Jean Giraudoux's last play, *The Madwoman of Chaillot*, is a socially penetrating comic fantasy in which the author bespeaks his disgust at the corruption of Paris between 1939 and 1944, and, in a larger sense, at the whole of western society. Its heroine is a madwoman who lives in a cellar in Chaillot and pursues the serene life of the Victorian Age in the midst of the bustle, turmoil, and corruption of modern France. The villains of the piece are the profiteers, the big money men, who think only of how they may convert everything into capital. These people, the playwright is saying, are machines: they don't "smell"; and they are turning the world into a great corporation without soul and without culture which will decay into nothingness before it has a chance to explode altogether.

In such a world, it remains for the mad to stand up for life, to affirm the worthwhileness of existence. To a young man who has tried to commit suicide, the madwoman speaks of life and how "wonderful" it can be:

Madwoman: It's wonderful not to want to die. Of course in the morning, when you first get up, it isn't always so wonderful. When you first take your hair out of the drawer and your teeth out of the glass, you're likely to feel just a wee bit out of place in this naughty world. Especially if you've just been dreaming that you're a little girl on a pony looking for strawberries in the woods. But all you need to get you back into the swing of things is a letter in your mail-box giving you your schedule for the day—the mending, the shopping, the letter to your grandmother. You mail it to yourself the day before, that's the safest. That way, when you've washed your face in rosewater and powdered it and put on your pins, rings, brooches, pearls, bracelets and earrings—and take a good look at yourself—not in the glass, naturally; It lies—but in the side of the brass gong that used to belong to Admiral Courbet—then, Roderick, then you're armed, you're strong, you're ready to face anything—even breakfast.

Youth: Oh, Madame, Madame—

Madwoman: After that, everything is pure delight. First, the morning paper. Personally, I always read the *GaULOIS*, the issue of Oct. 7, 1896. I find it by far the best. It has some delightful scandal, some excellent fashion notes, and of course the last-minute bulletin of the death of Leonide Leblanc. She used to live next door to me, poor woman, and when I learn of her death every morning, it gives me quite a shock. I'd gladly lend you my copy, only it's in tatters.

Youth: What a fool I've been!

Madwoman: You see how wonderful life can be?

Youth: I will never forget it, countess.

Madwoman: And then, Roderick, I begin my rounds. I have my cats to feed, my dogs to pet, my plants to water. I have to see what the evil ones are up to in my territory—those who hate animals, those who hate plants, those who hate people. I watch them sneaking off to put on their disguises—to the baths, the beauty parlors, the barbers. But they can't fool me. And when they come out again, with blond hair and false whiskers, to pull up my flowers and poison my dogs, I'm there, and I'm ready. All you have to do to break their power is to cut across their path from the left. That isn't always easy. Vice leads one a merry chase. But I have a good long stride and I generally manage—Right, my friends? Well, then, Roderick, you understand now?

The madwoman correctly realizes that the weakness of the "monsters" is their greed. So, hearing that they are seeking oil beneath the old streets of Paris, she pretends to have found it under the very floor of her cellar. They come—the promoters, the bankers, the prospectors, and their women ("the oldest pressure group in the world"); the madwoman directs them to a subterranean cavern which leads into the ancient,

vast, and unfathomable sewers of Paris. Brief-cases and all they rush down to see the "oil" and are never heard of again. The little people of the streets—rag-pickers, flower-girls, policemen, waitresses—rush to the madwoman to tell her that out in the world the birds are singing again, the flowers growing, the dogs barking, and people are falling in love. Life is indeed wonderful with "them" gone! "Ah, yes," says the madwoman, "it just shows what one sensible woman can do".

The playwright is trying to say that in our world, the roles of sanity and madness have been reversed. The "sane"; those in high places; the kings; the potentates; the financiers; the commissars; the managers; the stock-holders—are driving the world to destruction. In such a world, it is the mad who fight for life, and any who stand for life will therefor be called mad and assigned to the lunatic asylums.

All of which is to say that in such times we should not be afraid of labels. We call ourselves by the name of One who was alleged by His own mother and brothers to be mad. And, while we obviously do believe that the way to break the power of "them" is "to cut across their path from the left", we do not advocate, nor contemplate, banishing all of "them" to the sewers of Paris, at least, not except as a last resort. What we do want to do is educate them. Bishops, cardinals, bankers, executive vice presidents, corporation lawyers, board secretaries. Gentlemen, please—be educable! Repent, for the sewers of Paris yawn before you.

And you will see how wonderful life can be.

A. J. Smith

THE END.

THE POWER OF FAITH

Mary Ellen's little friends, in planning a picnic, left her out. At the last minute, they relented and invited her after all.

"Hurry, dear," urged her mother. "Wash your face and slip on a clean dress while I fix your picnic lunch."

Mary Ellen shook her head. "It's no use, mother," she explained. "I've already prayed for rain."—Webb B. Garrison.

Social Questions

BULLETIN

Issued monthly, except July, August and September with a combined issue for February and March

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Office of Publication, 372 Broadway, Albany 7, N. Y.
Editorial Office, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11

Re-entered as second class matter March 18, 1947, at the Postoffice at Albany, N. Y. under the Act of August 24, 1912



Peace or Extinction

DR. THEODOR ROSEBURY *

It is a privilege to address the Methodist Federation for Social Action, for a scientist to speak to a group of your kind on a matter of tremendous interest to science and religion, the role of science in peace and war. I'm sorry I could not attend your meeting in person, but it is fortunate that a wartime development in science has made it possible for me to send my voice to you on a wire, and I hope that this will be an adequate substitute. This wire recorder which carries my voice to you is one of the minor accomplishments of science. As you know science has come to play a very great part in our lives in recent years. It has brought us in fact to a point at which we might look forward with confidence to the conquest of disease and even to a true understanding of the life that animates us. And now, we have cracked the atom and released such energies as hitherto only the sun and the stars could generate. But we have used the atom's energies to kill and we are fashioning weapons out of our knowledge of disease. Meanwhile greed and a thoughtless faith in the inexhaustible bounty of the earth have led us to exploit the soil that feeds us until dust-bowls have become deserts and increasing areas of the globe, impoverished by neglect or devastated by war, can no longer support their inhabitants. Once when this happened, there was a land of promise across the sea beyond the mountains. But now there is no place to go that man has not already fouled with his weapons and his avarice. The scientists tell us that we of our generation have a choice of alternatives, and that we haven't much time to make it. We can choose to save our world for ourselves and our children, with science as our servant, helping us to restore and to build, finding new sources of power for us and new ways to use the old sources. There is still hope that all this can be done, although only if we do it soon. Or we can choose the easier road, the road of hate and fear that would lead us to destroy our neighbors because we don't like the way they live and because we are sure they are threatening to destroy us.

I propose to speak to you on one aspect of wartime science, biological warfare. I should like first to quote from a statement by Trygve Lie in the introduction to the United Nations Annual Report of the Secretary General, dated July 5, 1948. "The prolonged debate on the control of atomic energy and the demonstrations of the tremendously destructive power of atomic weapons that the United States has given to the world have distracted attention from developments in the field of bacteriological and lethal chemical weapons. Whatever the situation regarding atomic weapons may have been or still may be, there has never been any effective monopoly of bacteriological and chemical weapons. Some of these weapons are probably potentially as destructive of human life as atomic weapons, but not a single proposal has been made by any of the Member nations for any system of preventing or controlling their manufacture, nor has there been any discussion or study of the problem in the United Nations." Our official policy of secrecy has made it difficult for our government to present information to us on this subject. That the government is neither blind nor unsympathetic about it is indicated by the official view of the United States State Department on atomic energy given in one of a group of provisional conclusions in a public document released in June, 1948. The conclusion is "That the people of the United States as a whole—and not merely those with a special or professional interest in the subject—must concern themselves with acquiring an adequate understanding of the essential facts about atomic energy and of the proposed international control measures on which their future security may depend. The same obligation falls upon the peoples of other nations." What is true of atomic energy is of course equally true of biological warfare. There is a great deal of information available on atomic energy, coming originally from the

Smythe Report and from other official presentations of our government. It is much more difficult for the general public to obtain information about biological warfare.

Recently I completed preparation of the manuscript of a book compiled from published sources and dealing with biological warfare in its technical aspects as well as its political and other implications. This book, entitled "Peace or Pestilence," will be published in the Spring by Whittlesey House. I'm using parts of the manuscript in this address by kind permission of the publishers. The book, intended for the general reader, covers certain principles of biological warfare, the manner in which it differs from normal peacetime biological science, deals with the scope of its weapons, the nature of the agents which are likely to be selected for use in warfare, with their potency as weapons (that is, their capacity to infect or to kill human beings or animals or crops), with the means for their production and with the problems both of offense and defense.

Only a few short years after the end of the greatest war in history we face again the threat of a still greater war. In that war, if it comes, bacteriological warfare is likely to be used along with all other "major weapons adaptable to mass destruction." That BW is such a major weapon seems clear. It is flexible; it is diverse in its means of destruction, varied in its range of strategic and tactical uses. Its agents are surpassingly powerful, yet they are universally available, cheap and easy to make, so that no nation can hope to have a monopoly of them. Its practicability is not proved and cannot be proved unless biological warfare is used in war. But there is little doubt that it would be effective. The consequences of its widespread use are incalculable and might be irremediable. There seem to be no adequate defenses against it. Can biological warfare be controlled? And if so, how? If not, what else can we do to make sure that this form of warfare is never used?

The problem of the international control of weapons of mass destruction has been dealt with extensively for the atomic bomb. We know that attempts during the past two years in the United Nations have come to nothing. Why they have failed is a matter that seems worth looking into. We need then to review briefly the history of the last two years in the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission in its attempts to solve the problem of the control of the atomic bomb—and then to see whether similar means might work for biological warfare, or if not, what else might be done.

You know that on August 6, 1945, President Truman announced to the world that an American airplane had dropped a bomb on Hiroshima, a bomb that "had more power than 20,000 tons of TNT." The decision to use this bomb was a closely reasoned one as Henry L. Stimson, who as Secretary of War carried a major responsibility for making it, has ably pointed out. There were certain peculiar circumstances attending that decision. Among them was the plea by a group of atomic scientists in June of 1945 that the bomb not be used against a populated center. Professor Albert Einstein said in London in August of 1946 that "he was sure that President Roosevelt would have forbidden the atomic bombing of Hiroshima had he been alive, and that it was probably carried out to end the Pacific war before Russia could participate." This view has been elaborated on more recently by the British physicist, P. M. S. Blackett, whose book "Military and Political Consequences of Atomic Energy" was published just recently in London. Prof. Blackett devotes a chapter to an analysis of this question, and concludes, "that the dropping of the atomic bombs was not so much the last military act of the second World War, as the first act of the cold diplomatic war with Russia now in progress."

Whether or not this contention is true, there is little doubt that the use of the bomb at Hiroshima and Nagasaki produced a strain in American-Soviet relations that has grown ever wider. It was in this atmosphere of strain that the

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American proposals for the international control of atomic energy were first made and that the Soviet replies were given. Early in January of 1946, Secretary of State Byrnes had appointed a committee to study means for the international control of atomic energy. And on March 16, 1946, the Acheson-Lilienthal Report gave the world a detailed plan toward this end. As the letter of transmittal by the Acheson Committee to Mr. Byrnes quoted with approval the words of the Lilienthal Board's report, it was submitted "not as a final plan, but as a place to begin, a foundation on which to build." But when Mr. Baruch presented the official United States proposals at the first meeting of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, on June 14, 1946, the plan was recognizably the same except for the added demand that the veto, the unanimity rule among the great powers, be abolished as far as atomic energy was concerned. During two years of wrangling in the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, the United States plan was altered in no essential point. The place to begin became the place to end. The foundation solidified into the final structure with no house on it. The body of the Atomic Energy Commission was pronounced dead on May 17, 1948 with a confession of failure and a vote to suspend. It was buried on June 22nd in the Security Council when Mr. Gromyko cast his 26th veto to kill the majority plan for international control. It is of course true that a ghost of the Commission rattled its dry bones in Paris just this past October in the Political Committee of the United Nations Assembly, where Mr. Austin and Mr. Vishinsky held forth much as usual. On November 4th, the whole Assembly, by a vote of 40 to 6, approved the Commission's majority plan for control, expressed official concern at the impasse between Russia and the West, asked the Big Five plus Canada to seek a basis of agreement and told the Atomic Energy Commission to keep working. According to the Assembly the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission is still alive, but even doctors have been known to disagree.

Who killed the Atomic Energy Commission? Not I, said Mr. Baruch, Mr. Austin and Mr. Osborne; it was those obstinate Russians. Not I, said Mr. Gromyko, Mr. Molotov and Mr. Vishinsky; it was those greedy Americans. It may have been a little of both, but it doesn't matter very much who did it. What matters is how it died and why. It seems to me that the baby was ill-conceived, sickly from birth and foredoomed to an early death. It hadn't a chance for two reasons. One is that the attempt to approach the great problem of peace through the control of one weapon, even though it be far and away the most potent of all weapons, could not have succeeded while other mass weapons, remaining uncontrolled, left the prospect of a devastating war essentially unmitigated. Although the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission had been directed to make proposals on all other weapons adaptable to mass destruction, it never considered anything but atomic energy. The other reason why the Atomic Energy Commission could not but fail was the atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion in which it had to work. The American proposals were doomed politically because, doubtless for good and sufficient reasons, they were expressive of fear and an excess of caution. And the Russian counter proposals, no doubt for equally compelling reasons, were evasive, nebulous and implausible. Neither side ever met the other half-way. But we had the bombs, the know-how and the consistent majority. And the Russians were utterly exasperating.

Most American scientists believe and indeed insist that the United States plan for the international control of atomic energy is a work of technical genius. With this view I quite agree. The United States plan, as it was formulated in the Acheson-Lilienthal Report and transmitted in the Baruch proposals, and as it came to be set down in reports of the United Nations, is a thing of beauty, albeit not fully in accord with modern principles of functionalism in design. It is like a full-scale sailing vessel built in the sub-basement of a skyscraper in an inland city. There would seem to be little doubt that it would float and sail if only it could be

brought to navigable waters and launched. It is a bold and a challenging plan. And if only the world were ready for it, I have no doubt that it could be made to work. But the world is obviously not ready for it. Therefore, it might be slightly academic to inquire, whether any comparable plan could be devised for biological warfare.

If we make the inquiry nevertheless, we find that the characteristics of biological warfare are so very different from those of atomic energy that whereas a technical scheme for the one might be feasible, no such scheme seems to be practicable for biological warfare. The military development of nuclear energy depends upon two raw materials, uranium and thorium, that are comparatively scarce, restricted in their occurrence and very expensive. On the other hand, the raw materials of biological warfare are manifold, ubiquitous and virtually without cost. If atomic bombs are to be made by individual nations, they demand a wealthy country, industrially highly developed, with abundant power supplies and plenty of highly skilled personnel. But the nature of BW indicates that it could be developed by small poor countries as well as large rich ones. Its costs would be low, its material requirements few, and its demands for personnel only such as could be met wherever there are modern engineering, medical, veterinary and agricultural science facilities. In 1946 it seemed safe to assume that the United States had a monopoly on means and know-how for atomic bomb production. While this assumption becomes increasingly less tenable as time goes on, a parallel assumption for BW has never been tenable. It may be that other countries are more advanced than we in BW development. The production of atomic bombs might be controlled through international inspection and policing, because large scale development of fissionable products requires installations of a unique sort which offer only limited opportunities for disguise. But the facilities required for BW differ hardly at all from those used all over the world in peacetime research and industry.

Breakdown in the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission was not the cause of failure elsewhere, but the symbol. The Commission could not have succeeded because of fear, and even if by a miracle it had achieved its objective of sequestering all atomic bombs in some United Nations backyard, it could not have accomplished its larger purpose of preventing war, so long as fear had other weapons to play with. We were afraid to stop making bombs until the world both agreed not to start making them and proved to our satisfaction that it was not doing so. The Russians were afraid to trust our generosity, even though nearly all the neighbors assured them of our good intentions. But the American control scheme, which everyone but the Soviets agreed was a work of technical genius, was tailored to fit the unique contours of atomic energy alone. Neither this nor any other known or imagined protective cloak could be expected to fit the other giants of mass destruction like biological warfare, which lurked menacingly in the shadows of military secrecy.

The international control of atomic energy is not synonymous with peace. The world needs such control in order to encourage the peaceful development of atomic power, to make sure that its magnificent promise is fulfilled. But control will have to be a product of peace, rather than a basis for it. Nor can we hope for peace through the control of other weapons. The Lilienthal-Baruch Plan for atomic energy grew out of fear and was scaled to fear's dimensions. It was defeated by fear. The other weapons, BW in particular, do not lend themselves to any such control scheme. Even if a scheme could be devised for them, it would be even more certain to fail while fear dominates the conference table. We must look elsewhere for a solution to this problem, and perhaps science, whose job it is to solve problems, can help us.

Problems are problems. Some are small and easy, others large and difficult. But all problems have a common quality. If they can be visualized, they can be formulated. And if they can be formulated, there is at least a chance that they

can be solved. This idea is basic to the philosophy of science and the first principle of its method. A scientist is one who understands this principle and knows how to apply it. There is no larger or more difficult problem than that which faces the world today, the problem of peace or war. As a scientist it seems to me that I can do nothing more useful than attempt to visualize and formulate this problem and thus perhaps help others to seek and find the democratic solution that we need.

Let us begin with two assumptions. One is that an atomic and biological war is something to be avoided if possible, or that stable peace in the world is a desirable objective. The other is that American-Soviet discord is the major force leading the world toward atomic and biological war; or, if you will, that the road to peace we are now exploring leads through improvement and stabilization of relations between our country and Russia. This second assumption immediately raises a question which we shall attempt to deal with by exploring all the alternative answers to it. The question may be phrased thus: "Is accord with Russia possible for us?" Or, in other words, is there now any basis for a stable peace between the United States and the Soviet Union? The possible answers to this question are Yes, No, and Maybe.

If the question be answered with a flat No, the inevitable consequence is war. If accord is not possible, if there is no basis for a stable peace, then war must surely come. And if war is to come, the indications are that it would be less disastrous to have it come soon, rather than to delay it. Time is on the side of the Russians. This idea seems to lead logically to the notion of a preventive war, but it can be shown clearly that the idea of preventive war is a snare, just as war itself as a solution to the problem of peace is a delusion. Suppose then that the answer is a gloomy Maybe, a grudging Yes, but only on our terms. Some such answer seems to be the basis for what the Russians call atomic diplomacy. Our current foreign policy, indeed, seems to have in it an element of international poker, with loaded and cocked forty-fives on every hip, ours being loaded with atomic bullets. We gamble that threats, although they may bring us to within an inch of war, will not bring war because Russia is inherently weak and unable to fight. If only we get tough enough—so runs the argument—Russia must eventually capitulate, whereupon her leaders will be unseated and her structure changed so that we shall be able to deal with her. But we have tried increasing toughness for more than two years, and as far as I can see, the Russians are still holding on.

Now suppose the answer to our question is Yes, or Maybe with a spark of hope in it. Suppose we say Yes, or Maybe, accord with the Soviet Union is possible, even though she continues much as she is, without the changes that require violent upheaval. If we can answer our first question thus, we can go on to the second one. The second question assumes that accord with Russia is possible as a basis for peace and asks, What would be the cost of that peace? World War II was the last of the old-fashioned wars in which toward the end only a corner of the curtain was raised on the war of today and tomorrow. Modern bacterial warfare was not used, nor were guided missiles. Jet propulsion was in its infancy and only two atomic bombs fell, the total of their terrific destruction having been swallowed up in the statistics of the whole war. There were more than 22 million military and civilian dead and more than 34 million wounded. These may be conservative figures. As for dollar cost, it has been estimated that the total military cost of World War II to all belligerents, excluding the eight-year war in China, was more than \$1 trillion, 117 billion, with property damage of about \$231 billion. That World War III would cost disproportionately more can hardly be doubted. These, of course, represent only a very small fraction of the true total cost of war. An illuminating editorial article in the issue of *Business Week* for April 24, 1948, entitled "Economic Consequences of a Third World War" bears on some of the other kinds of costs that a World War III would entail. I quote the two opening paragraphs. "In a lot of

ways, World War II was not hell for the United States. Essentially it was tragic, but there were some things, the elimination of unemployment, the general increase in income, the boom in business, that the country welcomed. But that wouldn't be true in a third world war. Another war, if it should come, would be a grim and miserable business for everyone. There would be no compensations." The article goes on to amplify this point of view with information of particular value to the business man. There would be in a World War III inordinately high costs in human life, in sufferings and dislocation, in damage to property and to the earth that feeds and sustains us all; but this article makes it plain that the highest cost might be in the very values for which the rest of the price was being paid—in the democracy that the war would have been waged to preserve. According to the reasoning in this *Business Week* article, we could not wage war without sacrificing the only purpose for which the war could be fought.

So much briefly for the cost of war itself. What about the cost of preventing war? It may be useful in this connection to recall that for most human beings, both in their private lives and in their collective activities, peace is not the highest value. Most of us, singly or in groups up to national dimensions will fight if sufficiently provoked, or if we believe that the prize to be fought for or to be saved by fighting is sufficiently precious. We do not believe in peace at any price. Accordingly, the question of the cost of preventing war can be framed in terms of those values that we would fight in order to gain or preserve. And so the broader question can be broken down into smaller ones. What are the values? How precious are they? Can we preserve them without fighting? And could we be sure of preserving them if we fought?

It seems to me that each of us must attempt to answer these questions for himself in terms of his own values, and to determine which would cost more, war or the prevention of war. The line of reasoning I have outlined may bring you to a working answer to this question. But note. If you find that prevention would cost more than war, you are back to the No answer to the first question. War becomes the lesser evil. But if you find that war would cost more, then you may confront the third great question: How shall we achieve peace? If you can reach this part of the road to peace, you will have come through its roughest and most treacherous sections to comparatively open ground. What went before was the framework of the problem; what is left is the solution. Its achievement will certainly not be easy. But if enough of us can succeed in framing the problem satisfactorily, the democratic solution we need should not be beyond our reach.

It seems to me necessary at this point to indicate the position in which I find myself after having traveled over this road. These are my own conclusions, and of course, it should hardly be necessary to point out that you need not accept them. I came to the road through my experience with biological warfare, which persuaded me that the cost of World War III would be higher than most of us can imagine, and also via a critical contemporary observation of the road to failure in attempts at the international control of atomic energy. I had built no excessive hopes on these attempts and in consequence did not become unduly pessimistic when they failed. Likewise I watched the development of the Soviet Union with detachment through the eyes of an American newspaper reader with a scientific bent. It never seemed to me necessary to approach the subject of Russia with any great warmth, either of affection or of aversion. I have found fascination in what seems to me to be a gigantic experiment in new social and political forms. And whether ultimately the experiment succeeds or fails, I feel sure that we can learn important lessons from it if we wish to, just as beyond doubt the Russians can learn from us. But having built neither my hopes nor my fears upon the Soviet experiment, it has been possible for me to watch its successes and its failures, its accomplishments and its transgressions, with neither vindication nor disillusionment. I believe that the Soviet system is going to remain in the

world for a while. And today it seems to me that the so-called menace of Soviet communism is vastly overrated. If the United States is really strong, as I believe it is; and, if our strength resides not in military power and aggressiveness but in the character and the way of life of our people, as I believe it does, then I am sure that we have nothing to fear from the Russians or from any other nation. Accordingly, there seems to me to be no real doubt that accord with Russia is possible for us. My answer to our first question is an emphatic Yes. I believe also that the cost of preventing an American-Soviet war would not only be less than the cost of war itself, but that, if purchased with due regard to the values as I see them, this cost of peace would be much lower than the price of any other commodity now for sale in the market of international politics. War is not inevitable and cannot be desirable. We are the strongest nation on earth and the richest. We suffered the least among the larger belligerents from World War II. We made the atomic bomb and used it, and we have worked and are now working to develop BW and other weapons of the new war. I believe that we have made mistakes, but so have all nations, like all individuals. We need feel no national guilt and we need have no fear. Given only a sound belief in our own true strength, we could afford to be generous in our approach to other nations, including Russia. If we could come to the international conference table with the respect for others that would grow out of true faith in ourselves, we might find a solution to the problem of peace that all of us would accept. I don't think we have tried this yet. And I know of no experiment that promises so much.

I should like to close this address with a brief consideration of certain ethical aspects of biological warfare. Science of course considers itself incapable of dealing with such matters. Questions of good or bad, of right or wrong—they are in your province rather than in mine. But I trust that you will pardon me if I touch upon them, not as a scientist to be sure, but simply as a human being. The kinds of questions with which I propose to deal, without scientific pretensions, are these: Is biological warfare horrible? Is it worse than other kinds of war? And is it good or bad for human beings to participate in it? By way of introduction to this general subject, let us consider an ethical idea which serves, I think, as a tacit foundation for all science. It is the belief that man is the best, the most important, of all things living and non-living; that he is the highest value, that all other values are arranged in relation to him. Stated or unstated, I think science must have as its ultimate purpose to improve the lot of man. That the individual scientist frequently either fails to acknowledge or consciously repudiates this idea does not invalidate it. And we might find, if we knew how to look, that the scientist who rejects it is in the measure of his rejection an ineffective scientist.

This idea of the supremacy of man as a dominating principle is of course not peculiar to science. Indeed it seems to be basic to most human cultures and religions, with some possibly significant exceptions such as Nazi Germany and imperial Japan. In our own culture it is a paramount principle of law, and again it may be significant that only the duly constituted authorities of government can defy it with impunity in the punishment of crime or in war. It is this concept of man as the highest value that makes practically impossible the use of unwilling human subjects for scientific experiments. I say unwilling because obviously human volunteers can be and frequently are used in this way. Often they are the scientists themselves. But if there is any risk to the subject in the experiment, the human guinea pigs must have come to appreciate the risk, to balance it against the reward, and to decide that the undertaking is worthwhile. You are familiar with the human experiments conducted by the Nazis which were an expression of their general depravity. It seems to me to be axiomatic that these experiments could not have been planned or carried out by scientists and that they necessarily failed to yield useful results. And incidentally I find a clear indication of the fundamental dissimilarity of Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia in the

low estate to which science fell in the former country despite its earlier preeminence and the generally flourishing state of science in the Soviet Union.

One can clearly discern the dominance of this idea of the primacy of human life in experimentation with animals. It is the justification of such experimentation that it yields knowledge bearing directly or indirectly upon human problems, implying that human values are necessarily higher than those of the lower animals. The scientist who works with animals never quite loses sight of the essentially moral purpose of the experiment. He does not "vivisection" animals out of hatred or contempt for them, such as the Nazis had for Poles and Jews. Indeed, he cannot hate them or hold them in contempt and still use them effectively.

The idea of human supremacy may be nearest the surface in biological science because of the inescapable kinship of man with the whole biological world. But whether it is clearly appreciated or not, I think it pervades and dominates all science. The wholehearted postwar effort of atomic scientists to divert their bomb away from destruction and toward human betterment has been a highly moral performance, which I interpret not as a conversion, but as an awakening. The idea of man as the dominant value must have been in their minds even while they were developing and perfecting the bomb. Yet there seems to be a paradox here: How can science aimed at the destruction of human life still cherish the notion that human life is the highest value? An attempt to resolve this paradox by reason alone could in my judgment end only in absurdity. Yet the scientist who devotes his efforts to war research must resolve it if he is not to lose his identity as a scientist, whether he does so clearly and vigorously or more obscurely. But the resolution must have an intrinsic emotional component which science does not yet know how to define. The conflict must be resolved, I think, positively and not negatively. The compelling motive must be the protection of friends and loved ones rather than the destruction of enemies. Yet it cannot be simple self-preservation alone, personal or social. There must be in it as well some larger concept of human welfare, a belief, however incompletely realized, that the future of all men demands a transient lapse into the anti-scientific business of human destruction. In time of war, or if the danger of war is clear and imminent, most scientists, like other men, find no great difficulty in resolving the conflict in their own minds sufficiently to direct a course of action which we cover and condone under the wartime meaning of the word "patriotism." Certainly this happened in World War II, when scientists in unprecedented numbers entered voluntarily and enthusiastically into our war effort, developed and perfected the most destructive weapons and yet never lost their identity as scientists. In my opinion this course of action was compelled by circumstances for a preponderantly social purpose. It was unavoidable and therefore it was good.

One of the secondary elements in the conflict which the scientist must resolve before he can lend his special talents to war is the kind of human destruction involved. For obscure reasons this seems to make a difference.

Some very responsible men have expressed this idea publicly. James F. Byrnes, for example, when he was Secretary of State, considered biological warfare, compared with the atomic bomb "an even more frightful method of human destruction." And Walter Lippmann, prompted by the U. S. Navy release on BW of January 4, 1946, regarded BW as "even more deadly and malignant" than the bomb. Similar ideas have been expressed by many others. And indeed the notion was prevalent even during the war that there is something peculiarly repugnant or unclean about biological warfare that does not apply to the atomic bomb or to other weapons. I am assuming that this is preponderantly an emotional rather than a purely rational idea. At all events, I see no way of dealing with it at the level of reason alone. A man can be no deadlier than dead. Nor can his death or suffering be more lingering or painful so far as I can imagine than those inflicted by atomic energy towards the fringe of its immediate effects or by an injury from high explosives

which leads to death slowly through prolonged suffering. Possibly there is an element in this judgment of the perversion of cherished good into evil, of the science of disease, so traditionally bent immediately toward the alleviation of human suffering, being turned deliberately upside down. It seems to me to be excuse rather than explanation. The question may be one of taste and no more arguable than varying human preferences for clothing, music or cheese. It goes almost without saying that the military will have none of such quibbling. And in this instance I find myself in agreement with them.

Some such idea must have been the basis of attempts made through the centuries to outlaw certain forms of warfare, while tacitly permitting others. Back in the 13th century, the Council of Lateran declared the cross-bow illegal in war. And a couple of hundred years later Bayard demanded that the musket be outlawed as a coward's weapon which could be used to kill a brave knight without engaging him in combat. How true! Even then the sport of kings had begun to deteriorate. Yet it did not seem to be the game itself that was at fault, but only the rules that needed amending to match the complications continually and awkwardly introduced by Progress. Before World War I, the Hague Convention outlawed "poison or poisoned arms," and stated that the right of belligerents in war is not unlimited, that war must not be used for the purpose of inflicting unnecessary injuries or for the wanton devastation and spoliation of enemy property, and that war must not be waged against the peaceful inhabitants of the enemy territory. After Guernica, Rotterdam, Coventry, Lidice, Berlin and Hiroshima, these pious sentiments ring quaintly on our ears. How old-fashioned the ancients were! But although none of the belligerents in World War I were restrained by these injunctions, and after the Germans had introduced poison gas warfare, the Washington Disarmament Conference of 1922 reaffirmed the prohibitions of the Hague Convention and extended that on poisons to include all "asphyxiating gases and all analogous liquids, materials or devices." And the last great Convention, the Geneva Protocol, signed on June 17, 1925, prohibited not only poisonous and asphyxiating gases but also specifically bacteriological warfare. This pact was signed at the time by the United States and was ultimately ratified by forty-one nations including France, England, the Soviet Union and Germany. It was never ratified, however, either by Japan or by the United States. On April 8, 1946, President Truman withdrew it from the Senate along with eighteen other unratified treaties. The world had just come through the greatest, most destructive, and therefore doubtless the most immoral war of all history, in which neither side had shown any clearly visible hesitation in the development and use of new weapons. It is true that neither chemical warfare nor biological warfare was used, the latter at all events not by any of the United Nations, and this fact has encouraged both Russian and American spokesmen to insist that each nation had abided by the pledges of the Geneva Protocol. But the two kinds of warfare had been developed with considerable enthusiasm by both sides in World War II, and there is neither direct evidence that I know of, nor indirect evidence in the form of obvious moral scruple in the use of other weapons, that lends the slightest credence to the idea that these weapons were withheld for ethical reasons. The reasons I do not doubt were strictly military.

Nowadays few of us retain any faith in the usefulness of treaties outlawing weapons. But let us pause to recognize that there are at least two different ways of looking at this idea. The distinction between them seems to me vitally important. It is one thing to argue that treaties outlawing the use of weapons in war—weapons of any sort—are in themselves useless. But it is quite another matter to insist that international treaties of any kind are mere scraps of paper unless they are backed by force. There is no reason to believe that the international prohibition of weapons has ever been effective. There are also plenty of examples of infraction or utter disregard of treaties of other kinds, particularly during the period of the rise of fascism in the

1930s. But these more general treaties, unlike the others, and even though they were not implemented by force, have not been broken universally. The whole United Nations and its many highly successful agencies which are too often submerged by those that have failed bears living testimony to the world's confidence in and reliance on treaties. Having passed through a period of increasing international anarchy, which culminated in the most ruthless of all wars, many of us seem to have become excessively cynical. We have come to believe that international agreement is impossible, and that only force can save us. But that a stable peace cannot be achieved through the use of force seems to me a truism. Either we must have international agreements of some kind, arrived at through peaceful negotiation and based on mutual respect and confidence among nations rather than on force, or less peace lies forever beyond our reach. If we are to have any hope of peace, we must begin with treaties. Even a treaty outlawing weapons might be a good thing to begin with if it could be recognized as no more than a starting point. And likewise it is not weapons but war that must be eliminated. So long as war is permitted to happen, it will inevitably be as ruthless as the times and their knowledge and power can make it. Moral distinctions among weapons are meaningless, and in my opinion, to single out biological warfare or for that matter any weapon or kind of warfare as particularly horrible or ethically worse, can find neither useful purpose nor justification. All war is horrible.

And finally, let me say a few words about the physicians. In proportion as biological warfare impinges on the field of medicine, it may tread on some of the most sensitive, ethical toes to be found in any shoe. For to the doctor the principle that human life is the highest value is not arguable. It is the keystone of his openly avowed ethics. He is dedicated to the alleviation of human suffering, to the prevention and cure of disease. He cannot under any circumstances participate in the destruction of human life. Or so it would seem.

Some of my best friends are physicians. I have often discussed this delicate question with them, including some who were colleagues in BW research; and most of them agree that the ablest physicians are those who make the fewest pretensions or none at all to special status in the human family. A physician is a human being, and when he follows the thread of his own principle through to its logical conclusion, he finds that he is not better than other human beings for the simple and compelling reason that there can be nothing better on earth. Man is the highest value. It therefore follows, in this instance inexorably, that what is good for other men is also good for physicians. If it is right for a scientist to engage in war research whose purpose is the destruction of human life, it is equally right for a physician to do so. I have not proved and cannot prove that it is right for either. I only affirm that it is, given the real and imminent danger that makes the act necessary and therefore good.

But scientist and physician alike could lend their special talents to the destruction of man only in the hope that in so doing they were serving the larger purpose of more general human preservation. What of a World War III, in which the cost of war will have mounted so high as to make any true victory for either side seem unattainable? If it should seem likely or even possible that we might have to destroy more men than we could hope to save, and in addition that the humanitarian values that seem to justify the war could only be lost by fighting, how then would the paradox be resolved? We can be reasonably sure of one thing. If World War III is allowed to come, biologists and men of all related fields, including physicians, will be called upon as never before to serve alongside physicists and other scientists as instruments of human destruction. I don't know how they will manage to do so and still retain their integrity. Indeed, I can't answer the question I have raised, and I suspect that it has no answer. It is a fragment of the larger question toward which this whole address is directed. Perhaps there are no fragmentary answers, but only one. Let us have peace.

THE PRAYER OF A MODERN PHARISEE

By One of Them

Luke 18:11, "The Pharisee stood up and prayed thus with himself, God, I thank thee that I am not as other men are."

I thank thee, Lord, that I am a North Carolinian and not from Virginia or South Carolina, those "two mountains of conceit bordering the vale of humiliation," full of pompous pride and unaware that their progressive neighbors have long ago outdistanced them; and I thank thee, Lord, that I am an *Eastern* North Carolinian, for is it not a proverb that "No gentleman was ever born west of tidewater"? Especially, Lord, I thank thee that I am a Southerner and not a Yankee—for there are many things one might endure, but not that! Grateful am I, O Lord, that I am a North American, and not a South American, for there is a vast difference, as everybody knows; and that I was born in these favored United States, and not among the gringos of Mexico or the Canucks of Canada. Thankful, too, am I, to be an occidental and not an oriental—one of those "lesser breeds without the law." True that Confucius and Gautama Buddha and Abraham and Moses and Kagawa and Gandhi were, or are, great men, but I never liked slanting eyes or the wrong shape of nose. I thank thee, Lord, that I am a Gentile and not a Jew. Yes, of course, Jesus was born a Jew and many others of that race were princes in Israel when my ancestors were Nordic barbarians, but that has been a long time ago. Why bring that up now? I thank thee that I am white, not yellow or red or brown or black. The Bible does teach that "While man looketh on the outward appearance, God looketh on the heart," but the outward appearance counts for a lot below the Mason and Dixon line. I thank thee, O God, that I am civilized and not a savage, though they do say it is the civilized countries which are at war today, while the "uncivilized" nations are at peace.

I thank thee, O Lord, that I am a Protestant, and not a Roman Catholic. Yes, it is a fact that for hundreds of years—long before anyone had ever thought of a Protestant Church—the Catholics kept alive the light of the Christian faith, and my denomination no longer brands the Pope as that "antichrist . . . and son of perdition," but anyway, put it to my credit that I am a Protestant. And, Lord, I thank thee that I am a Presbyterian, and not—well, one hesitates to be too specific—but, after all, we Presbyterians are educated, or used to be, and we do feel that it is nice to be "just right"; not "highhat" like the Episcopalians, nor yet so, well, shall we say provincial or narrow as the Baptists and Methodists? Yes, naturally there are some Presbyterians who are not what they ought to be, but they are mostly in the northern branch. I thank thee, Lord, that I am a Southern Presbyterian, yes, an Eastern-North Carolina, North American, occidental, Scotch, Gentile, white, civilized, Protestant, *Southern* Presbyterian! What a man!!

O wad some power the giftie gie us,
To see oursels as others see us!
It wad frae monie a blunder free us,
An' foolish notion.

"And the publican, standing afar off, would not lift up so much as his eyes unto heaven, but smote upon his breast, saying, God be merciful to me a sinner. I tell you, this man went down to his house justified rather than the other; for every man that exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted."—Jesus Christ.

MOVIE OF THE MONTH

KNOCK ON ANY DOOR, starring Humphrey Bogart and John Derek. A Columbia Picture. Seen at Astor Theatre, New York.

In 1947 a young Chicago Negro writer by the name of Willard Motley wrote a hard-hitting first novel about juvenile delinquency and entitled it "Knock On Any Door".

The movie, while not as hard-hitting as the book, is nevertheless the best treatment the screen has yet given to this vital theme. Bogart's part is secondary, the main role being played by a newcomer, John Derek. Not top-flight, but decidedly worth seeing.

Thomas Coke one of the founders of American Methodism wrote a letter on the slavery question in which he declared his faith that "God will never withdraw his hand till civil and religious liberty be established all over the earth. (From Wade Crawford Barclay's forthcoming History of Methodist Missions.)

Nazi officers, recruited in West Germany are turning up in the Arab armies of the Middle East. They travel on counterfeit Red Cross passes provided by the British Intelligence. A British Colonel expressed regret to the Red Cross and suggested they investigate the "mystery" but "carefully and without much noise." Others are appearing in the American armed Dutch army in Indonesia, transported on British vessels on which were American supervisors and inspectors. A former editor of a Nazi Storm Trooper publication, with the reputation of being one of the most passionate of Hitler's propagandists is now working as adviser on American propaganda in Germany. His name is Herr D'Alquen.

Greece and the Truman Doctrine

(Continued from page 52)

have announced, "Truman sees end of aid to Greece." You cannot get people to do something they don't want to do. It is no pleasure to Greeks to see American contractors building roads and bridges to expedite military movements aimed to coerce and regiment even remote villages and mountainous areas which through the centuries have been the refuge for liberty loving Greeks against Romans, Turks, Germans, British, and now the Americans. They have no enthusiasm for foreigners who gain a harvest while their own contractors and people starve and languish in prisons.

Nor can they appreciate the fact that their own selfish few who have accommodated themselves to whichever is in power—German, British, or Americans prosper, while men of principle who refused to work with the Germans are shunned by those from whom they had a right to expect assistance. There are those in Greece who are unimpressed by our American way of life as long as it gives aid to the selfish interests in his own country. He will not submit. He would rather die. He keeps alive not in the "remnant of Israel" but the remnant of Greece.

Throughout our administration in Greece, men have been executed for their political beliefs and thousands have been imprisoned. The condition of these people is no less severe than those who were executed and imprisoned under the Romans, Turks, Germans, and British. They and their families and those who rise up to take their places will have their place in history to write another and still another chapter in the history of Greece. The sad part is that they will have reason to hate and to avenge the past. The history of Greece will continue to be bloody. The revolution is inevitable. Churchill and Truman have not been able to stop it. They have only made the day of judgment more crimson and ruthless.

The Crisis in Democratic Rights and the Free Pulpit

DR. HARRY F. WARD

Since we discussed this matter a year ago there has been a steady increase in the subversion of democratic rights by our government. This has been accompanied and supported by a rising anti-democratic temper throughout the land developed by the nature of our foreign policy and of the official and unofficial propaganda in support of it. This course of events has been from time to time analyzed in our BULLETIN.

There is no prospect that this anti-democratic trend will be reversed by the election. The man pledged to a civil rights program for the Negro is the man who ordered the loyalty tests and the subversive organization lists which embody the principles of guilt by association and guilt without trial, which subvert both the First Amendment and those which guarantee a fair trial and due process of law. If Negroes gain some relief from lynching, the poll tax, discrimination in employment, they still stand to lose, along with the rest of us, their basic constitutional freedoms. The N.A.A.C.P. has recorded over a score of cases of Negroes with years of service as postal employees who now face dismissal under loyalty tests for the usual "communistic leanings."

Congress may change the form, and a part of the nature, of the Un-American Activities Committee but present proposals do not abandon the principle of inquisition and the method of "exposure" by which the Committee has been indirectly doing what the First Amendment forbids Congress to do by law, do not provide for ascertainment of facts by unbiased and trained personnel. Labor may get rid of the Taft-Hartley law but the Democratic platform pledged support to labor in getting rid of communists and the hierarchy of both A.F.L. and C.I.O. have expressed their willingness to keep the anti-communist affidavit regulation. In line with this at the recent C.I.O. Convention the Chairman kept all minority reports from reaching the floor and the bureaucrats gathered to themselves power to amalgamate left wing unions with larger right wing led bodies under the species plea of better organizing the unorganized.

The anti-democratic trend has recently produced two events, connected in cause and consequence, which were forecast in our analysis of last year. They are the trial of the twelve communist leaders and the publication of the Un-American Committee pamphlet on Communism and Religion. These are history making happenings.

The Communist leaders are charged with advocating and teaching the overthrow of the government by force and violence and with organizing for such teaching and advocacy, "according to the principles of Marxism-Leninism." They are not charged with a single act, or proposal, of force and violence. They are not charged with incitement to force and violence. They are not charged with organizing a party with a program of force and violence. This is obviously because no evidence of any of these things exists. The facts are to the contrary.

Section 2, Article IX, of the Constitution of the Communist Party, U.S.A., reads: "Adherence to or participation in the activities of any clique, group, circle, faction or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all of the institutions of American democracy, whereby the American people can maintain their right to determine their destiny in any degree, shall be punished by immediate expulsion." Section 10, Article IX, reads: "Every member is obligated to fight with all his strength against any and every effort, whether it comes from abroad or within our country, to destroy the rights of labor and the people, or any section thereof, or to impose upon the United States the arbitrary will of any group or party or clique or conspiracy, thereby violating the unqualified right of the majority of the people to direct the destinies of our country."

Furthermore the political platform of the Communist Party has never contained anything that was not within the democratic principles and procedures of our form of government. Consequently what is basically on trial in this case is "the principles of Marxism-Leninism" a body of doctrine—economic, political, philosophic. This is a Twentieth Century heresy trial. The courts are asked to transform themselves into an Inquisition and to interpret and pass judgment upon Marxism-Leninism. Accordingly the prosecution has to use mainly the method employed in the Twenties against the I.W.W., that is, the proof text method of taking quotations from their context without regard to the historical situation in which they were written. Consequently this method proves only what was previously in the mind of its user and not what was in the minds of those who wrote the documents he is handling.

This prosecution is brought under the Smith Act of 1940. After outlawing certain subversive activities this law proceeds to make a criminal offense the advocacy of the overthrow of the government by force and violence, any organization or assembly to further such advocacy, mere membership in such an organization with knowledge of its purpose, any attempt or conspiracy to advocate or participate in the advocacy of the proscribed doctrine. Because the accused are not charged with any "overt act" or incitement to an act, but only with advocating and teaching and organizing to advocate and teach a body of doctrine, the American Civil Liberties Union, which does not allow Communists on its Board, is aiding the defense.

The basic legal point in the trial is the constitutionality of the Smith Act—the first attempt of Congress to destroy the First Amendment since the Alien and Sedition Act of 1798. That law was a product of the hysteria created among the propertied classes by the French Revolution. In a few years it was repealed, those imprisoned under it released by Jefferson and the Party that passed it sent into oblivion. Prof. Chafee, Harvard Law School on civil liberties, says the only difference between that law and the Smith Act is in phraseology, they work out the same way in operation. It was then forbidden "to excite against the government the hatred of the good people of the United States"; now it is "to advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence." The purpose is the same, the suppression of a school of political and economic thought. This at the moment when we are signing a Declaration of Human Rights which guarantees free access to ideas from all sources, over all boundaries.

This is not, as the judge has asserted, an ordinary criminal trial. The atmosphere in which it will be conducted has been determined by the biggest barrage of propaganda this nation has ever been subjected to. When the judge was reminded that the defendants were not charged with acting to overthrow the government but only with spreading socialist ideas he replied, "No, they want to wait until they get everything set, and then the act will come." When it was moved that he vacate the case because of bias he replied that he was "conscious of no bias" and if he had been he would have stepped down voluntarily. Like all political trials the courtroom will be filled with passion and prejudice.

What makes this case historic is that the issue is not merely the rights of individuals but the method of political, economic and social change. The decisions of the Supreme Court on free speech in the past quarter century have centered around the truism that the individual right to utterance is not absolute. Now it is to be faced with the question of the right of Congress to make a law in violation of the First Amendment, whose language is peremptory: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the

freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of their grievances." It is clear that it is freedom for political and religious expression and action that Congress is forbidden to restrict. It is further clear from the researches of Beard and others into the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention that the reason for this unconditional grant of freedom of political expression was the property question, the provision of a political means to change economic conditions when they became unbearable.

Thus the supreme value of the First Amendment is that it provides the only alternative to civil war when "the times are ripe and rotten-ripe for change." At such a point do we now stand. The late Chief Justice Hughes once said "The constitution is what the courts say it is." If the decision is against the needs and desires of most of the people that is true, as the Dred Scott decision showed, only for a time. If in the final decision on this case of the Communist leaders the Supreme Court, either by avoidance or action, nullifies the First Amendment, and so closes the democratic road into the future, who among us can say how much force and violence it will take to open it again. For reopened it must be and will be, or history has no meaning.

It is at this crucial point that the relationship, in both cause and consequence of the Communist trial to the Un-American Committee pamphlet on Communism and Religion appears. The Department of Justice is trying to do through the Smith Act what the Committee has long been doing through the use of political and economic pressures and the creation of fear, what it also sought to do by law through the Mundt-Nixon Bill, that is, to nullify the First Amendment. The Committee has achieved a considerable part of its objective among the opinion forming agencies by the fears it has created, especially in radio and the movies, to a lesser degree in education and publishing. It now naturally attempts to do the same with religion. It is significant that a series of five pamphlets that begins with "100 Things You Should Know About Communism in the U.S.A." should turn next to "Communism and Religion" and after that to "Communism and Labor," "Communism and Education," "Communism and Government." This attempt to restrict what religious groups shall hear, read, say and think, about Communism or any other topic related to social change, is under our concept of religion certainly an attempt to prohibit "the free exercise thereof."

If, contrary to the Constitution, the teaching of political and economic doctrine can be made illegal then what is to prevent the teaching of religious doctrine also from being outlawed? This question is particularly pertinent to those religious teachings which bring the existing social order to judgment on moral grounds. When that order stands in more danger of rejection by the American people than it does now it would not be difficult for the beneficiaries of the existing order, and their hirelings, to find grounds just as specious, and just as effective emotionally, for outlawing the teaching of our kind of Protestantism as those they are now using in the attempt to outlaw the teaching of the "principles of Marxism-Leninism."

This is not to put the matter on the ground of self interest. The point here is that all groups which have a common interest in seeing that all the people have the opportunities for a more abundant life that are now possible have also a common interest in seeing that the road to that new world provided by our Constitution be kept open. The core of the challenge of the present crisis to the freedom of the pulpit is not that we should be free to preach as we please but that we should be free to use the possibilities of our religion in helping to secure the kind of social order we believe it to require.

Concerning the freedom of the individual pulpit there are some considerations that need now to be thoroughly discussed among us. The pulpits of progressive Protestantism constitute a powerful potential for forming the public conscience, especially against the present trends toward war

and repression. Why then is that potential not being used to capacity? Even in our own group? What are the inhibiting forces? Which are the stronger, those within or without the church? Certainly those without, now increasing in strength, cannot be effectively resisted unless those within are overcome. The first step is their identification and then the adoption of measures to check them. In our denomination the two most powerful are probably institutional interests—serving of tables—and our income and promotion system.

Two generalizations will hold and need to be heeded. The pulpit will get more freedom by the effective use of what it now has. Freedom is never a free gift, like the air. It has to be won. The pulpit will get as much freedom as it is ready and willing to fight for, if not now then for those who come after. And they will have to fight to hold what is won, and to gain more. So the call is once more to put on the whole armor of God and to use it effectively.

This call comes particularly to the collective pulpit, the denominational and inter-denominational voice of the churches. The Federal Council had something to say about the danger of a Soviet police state. It is time, and nearly past time, for a much clearer and more ringing utterance concerning the beginnings of a police state here. If the churches collectively, like the Supreme Court to date, avoid the issue of the attempt to nullify the First Amendment by remaining silent they will share the responsibility for the tragic consequences. If they do not deliver a united protest to the Speaker of the House on the first day of the new Congress against the blatant and ignorant violation by its Committee of the right granted them by the First Amendment they deserve to lose that right. If they desire to hand that right unimpaired to their successors let them, when the Communist cases come before the Supreme Court, organize expressions of church opinion all over the country. It is recognized that the Court follows the election returns, sooner or later, and so on an issue as crucial as this it is meet and fitting that the people should express their desires. For the people of the churches, what so fitting expression as a day of prayer and speech for the preservation of the democratic foundations of our organized life?

Whether these or similar steps are or are not taken interdenominationally it would be natural for our denomination through all its agencies to take them. Our Bishops issued the strongest religious statement concerning the unconstitutional and UnAmerican aspects of the loyalty tests. They, our General Conference and various annual conferences, have stood squarely for freedom of the pulpit in this day of attempted repression. Because our faith and our theology is experiential and not authoritarian we believe in testing all things and holding fast to that which is good. Because we believe in going on to perfection we stand for continuous progressive change, in the social order as well as in religion. Consequently to those who stand in peril of repression we say: "We will defend your right to express your beliefs and state your doctrines. We will insist upon our right according to our constitution, and the necessities of a freely developing social order, to hear and examine them." To those who seek to impose crippling restrictions upon the voice, the mind, the spirit of man we say with those who went before us on the road we travel: "We ought to obey God rather than man." And if your actions require it, we are ready to add: "If that be treason make the most of it."

HASTY CONCLUSION

The woman grew confidential as the beauty operator adjusted the permanent wave machine.

"I've had my worries," she said, "and I sometimes wonder if my husband hasn't grown tired of me."

"Whatever makes you say that?" the operator inquired.

"Well, he hasn't been home in three years."

—Tracks.

Behind the Headlines

Our foreign policy moves with increasing speed on a course opposite to that charted by representatives of the Protestant churches for the prevention of war and securing the foundations of a peaceful world.

Instead of "sincere and patient negotiation without threat of military force" our government announces no more discussion of the German issue until the Atlantic Pact is signed and the ERP shows its strength in a second year; then the Russians will have to accept our proposals. We asked for an ERP "without political coercion", not "tied in with military purposes". The one we have is now tied in with Western control of the Ruhr and at that vital point is subordinate to the military authorities.

Instead of "fresh efforts to find a basis for the control of atomic energy", after being prevented by neutrals from stopping discussion, our government ignores the Soviet offer to consider simultaneous outlawry, control and inspection. We asked our leaders to cease "the effort to put the U. S. on a war-time basis" and to restore policy making "to civilian leadership." They have produced a Pact to put the Western nations in "the best position for a possible war with the Soviet Union" which makes military needs the touchstone of all policies. Instead of "promoting plans for world disarmament" they now plan to "put teeth in the Atlantic Pact by rearming Western Europe."

According to both American and English military analysts this Pact, like the cartel economy whose expansion it is designed to protect is as technically deficient as it is morally disastrous. Faced with the question of where the needed man power is to come from the only answer the generals who made the first draft could find, unless the U. S. is able, and willing, to maintain a mass army on the Rhine, was Germany. What is that worth? The cross movements from one zone to another, the dissatisfaction with our Western area government plan, indicate that there will be civil war in Germany whenever international war breaks out. In Italy In Fact editor Seldes was told by the leaders of the Confederation of Labor that when war came the workers would lay down their tools without waiting for orders. In France, where our policy leads to De Gaulle attempting to seize power, the Secretary General of the Labor Confederation told Seldes: "De Gaulle has no labor support . . . he cannot win France in a legal way. He can only win by violence." Then "What will labor do?" "We shall use force also."

After six months in Europe Seldes' conclusion is: "The people don't want war. They do not want to fight on either side. I have not taken a poll of millions to prove this, but I judge this from the real spokesmen for millions—the labor leaders, (and in all instances in the West, non-communist leaders). If your newspapers tell you we have made millions of friends, gotten (via the Marshall Plan or otherwise) whole nations lined up as allies in the next war, they have fooled and betrayed you."

The writers of the Atlantic Pact are making the same miscalculation they made when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, again about China, and still again about Greece. They are overlooking the power of the multitudes at the bottom of the capitalist-imperialist world, their determination to secure their basic needs and more of the abundant life. With more resistance confronting them than Hitler faced, without the man power he could muster, our policy makers are being led by threats they cannot make good toward a fatal attempt to settle the economic problem of modern man on their terms by force of arms.

The economic power of the U. S.; the undergirding of its greatest armament in history, is not mighty enough for this task. Already it is cracking at home and its imperialistic advance abroad is starting rifts between the Allies. Britain is worried because we are pushing her capitalists out of the Middle East; and still more, along with France and Belgium, because our corporate interests are moving into Africa to which theirs had turned as the last chance to restore their failing fortunes by the exploitation of an undeveloped con-

tinental. To add to their alarm U. S. News tells them: "All in all, U. S. officials are convinced that India is one of the more promising fields for development."

Our relations with Holland are complicated by the fact that in Indonesia American monopolies hold 40% of all foreign investments and control a considerable part of the output of oil, tin, rubber, nickel and other strategic raw materials. As an editorial in the Saturday Evening Post puts it, the Marshall Plan would collapse in Europe if it was not supported by the "colonial treasures" of Asia. Adding to these frictions is the increasing resentment in all ERP countries at the closing down of some of their plants, with consequent increase of unemployment, because of our products forced upon them by our aid program for the profit of our corporate interests.

Meantime every step on the road of the cold war faces new risks for the dread calamity the whole world fears. A Committee of the Hoover government organization Commission has revealed that a "mistaken" intelligence analysis made by one division of the armed forces about Soviet troop movements in Germany last spring might have led to "serious consequences", presumably war. It was used to put over peace time conscription. The committee also found that estimates had been "biased and subjective" and had frequently mistaken the "capabilities of potential enemies" for their "intentions."

The danger of hasty, irrevocable action is increased by the phrase "indirect aggression" whose users cite the Czech change of government as an example. Still another risk of some act that will set the world afire appears in the prospect that we will repeat in China and Korea the kind of support we gave to counter-revolutionary forces in Russia after the Bolshevik revolution. To these dangers must be added those inherent in the fifth column operation in Europe of Project X of our Central Intelligence Agency whose legalizing in a pending bill is so secret that Congress cannot be told what it is voting for, and discussion must be reduced to a minimum that makes the word a mockery. Unquestionably the fears and suspicions created by this program make one of the forces behind the hysterical actions against persons accused of espionage in the Soviet Union and Bulgaria.

In military strategy and in economic foundation the Atlantic Pact and the rearmament plan is a house of cards built upon the sands. But it can, in its fall, bring upon a large part of the earth "the abomination of desolation."

Why do our leaders madly take these risks and persuade themselves that this is the way to peace? Are they blind to the greater risk that when their threats fail to secure submission to their proposals they are left facing the war they are preparing for and cannot win? Behind all their actions since Roosevelt died is evident fear of the demonstrated success of socialist planned economy, first in the Soviet Union and now in Poland-Czechoslovakia where the U. N. reports show a greater gain in production under joint planning than in Western Europe. The Siamese twin of this fear is created by the insecurity of the capitalist economy.

A major force behind war preparations and war scares is the need of our economy for more war materials orders. Truman's economic advisers cannot agree as to whether our economic temperature is going up or down—needs priming or controls. But business journals agree that only war orders prevent a "recession." With some six million workers producing for war unemployment is above normal for the season, and is spreading from consumer goods to mines, mills and factories. For the first time in ten years the net income of farmers in the Middle West food basket is down, and a further drop is forecast. In the Northwest wheat states farmers are reaching under the mattress for the savings they wanted to use for more of the good things of life to pay the next instalment on the machinery they bought from high prices.

The situation totals up to a growing shortage in purchasing power. Last year only 70% of our national output went into consumption as against 75% before the war. A labor economist's estimate is that unemployment added to declining

farm prices is liable to cut '49 purchasing power \$6 to \$8 billion. The proposed military expenditure is not enough to make up this loss, enough to put a brake on the down grade not enough to start uphill again. A former Treasury Department economist says that Truman's military program "will about double the procurement rate of munitions and put war preparations from first into second gear. It would bring us much closer to the point of militarist power from which there is no turning back, no upshot but war." A down to earth layman's comment is "Looks like the only business the big boys are willing for the government to go into is the killing business."

"Be not deceived. God is not mocked." The profit seeking economy cannot much longer defy the moral law. How long can it carry the billions demanded by the Atlantic Pact and the corollary rearmament plan, added to the billions required for ERP now turned into a grab bag for profiteers? How much recovery will Western Europe get by more production for death? These new commitments put a sharp limit to recovery abroad as our previous military budget did to social welfare at home. They bring nearer the poverty and hunger, the desperation and chaos we were supposed to prevent. When the day of collapse comes who then will hold back the dogs of war?

Facing this prospect the people are listening for a voice to declare judgment upon the policies that lead them to destruction. From whom should it come but those who have been trying to guide into the way of peace those who literally sit in the shadow of death? If our Council of Bishops will now speak on the increasing menace of war as they spoke last year on the threat to democratic rights of the President's loyalty test order, more than Methodists will hear, and may be led to act in time to prevent disaster incalculable?

Everywhere one goes he finds people hungry for the knowledge without which they will perish, for the facts withheld from them by the big business press. That is why our annual meeting asked the executive for a series of small factual leaflets on the general order of the "Crisis Leaflets" of the depression 'Thirties. Unless the people get the truth about the world they live in they cannot be free to change it according to their faith.

H. F. W.

In Your Papers?

In Rome theaters are crowded for films exalting Mussolini's colonial campaigns. Federzoni, former president of the Fascist senate, and Rossini Minister of Corporations have been amnestied and returned from hiding. Generals Roatta Jacomini and Suvich, leaders of the Fascist intelligence service, sentenced to life imprisonment less than two years ago, have been set at liberty.

From London: "Officially, industrialists and trade union leaders proclaim their gratitude to the Marshall Plan . . . Off the record they denounce the way in which the U. S. is dictating what they may sell to Eastern Europe, and advising them to cut down their building of ships."

From Paris: "In 1949, France will spend 96% of the Marshall Plan handout for day-to-day living, for maintaining her army, and for keeping her production at its present insufficient level."

From Frankfurt: "We don't want to suffocate in a military policy which decrees for us an authoritarian West German State (Trizonia) with outspoken anti-Soviet orientation, which protects Hitler's generals and again makes Hitler's profiteering opportunists fit for society. . ."

Judge Knox, author of the handpicked grand jury plan in New York. "Persons who have a grievance against the government or who are dissatisfied with conditions which expose them to self-denial are not likely to have the spiritual contentment and mental detachment that are essential and requisite to competent jury service."

Federation Activities and Reports

THE EVER ACTIVE PACIFIC NORTHWEST CONFERENCE CHAPTER is distributing a very useful analysis of Washington State social legislation, now before the State Legislature. It was prepared by the League of Women Voters of Washington, and is distributed by our MFSA Chapter so their "members may be informed on state issues." Other State and Conference Chapters, "Go and do thou likewise!"

THE NEWARK CONFERENCE CHAPTER held a morning and afternoon mid-year session on Washington's Birthday. Dr. Frank G. Lankard, a chapter member, and Dean of Brothers College, Drew University, gave a most stimulating and informative lecture on the History of Social Christianity. There was a discussion, led by the Chapter President, Rev. Chester Hodgson, on the Mindszenty case and on the importance of offsetting and combatting war hysteria. The MFSA Executive Secretary reported on the national MFSA meeting at Oskaloosa, and the program adopted there. MFSA literature was distributed and sold; and the ever-needed (and sometimes belated!) membership dues were collected.

THE NEW YORK CITY CHAPTER met on Feb. 8, heard and discussed a report from its chapter delegate, Dorothy McMichael, on the National Oskaloosa meeting. There was considerable discussion on the Mindszenty case, and unanimous concern manifest over the use to which it was being put by "Holy War" advocates; the MFSA Executive Secretary was urged to act speedily in the interest of checking the prevalent propaganda trend and combatting the war hysteria being generated. The chapter voted to send a delegation and protest to Mayor O'Dwyer over the racial discrimination being practiced by Stuyvesant Town, a Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. housing project, granted tax-exemption privileges by New York City.

THE SOUTH CENTRAL JURISDICTION CHAPTER met at Southern Methodist University in Dallas in Feb. in connection with the mid-winter pastor's school. Bishop Gerald Kennedy gave the keynote address, and stressed the importance of strongly supporting the Methodist Federation for Social Action. Mrs. Kathleen Voigt, WSCS leader from San Antonio, brought a first-hand report from the national MFSA meeting in Oskaloosa.

ENGLISH SEMINAR PLANNED

The Rev. Carl Soule of the Methodist Commission on World Peace and Dr. Willard Uphaus, Executive Secretary of the Religion and Labor Foundation, hope to head a traveling seminar to Great Britain this summer.

According to present tentative plans, a group of about twenty ministers and labor leaders will leave the United States on the S. S. Washington on August 17. Interviews are planned with leading British government officials, labor leaders, and churchmen. The group will then have an option of returning on the one-class S. S. Washington late in September, or of visiting France and the continent and returning at a later date.

The total cost of the English trip, including round trip passage, will be about \$600. Those interested are invited to contact the Rev. Carl Soule at 740 Rush St., Chicago, Ill.

Report of the Study Committee to the Executive Committee, MFSA

In accordance with the partial report of this committee to the Executive Committee on October 29 in Chicago, your committee has continued its work, and faced certain problems.

1) Does the MFSA possess a definite statement of program to which any desiring such information can be referred? The answer is that for the past four years we have been working in accordance with such a statement, which is reviewed and adopted annually; and which we now present to this meeting.

2) In the next place, we have reviewed the process by which policy and procedure are democratically arrived at in the MFSA. Our Executive Secretary made a brief statement to us of this procedure which was so illuminating that we have asked him to make a similar statement as briefly as feasible to this Executive Committee meeting; with the idea that you might wish then to order it produced in print (or in mimeographed form). His statement is as follows:

The MFSA program is formulated democratically at the annual meeting to which all voting members are invited. A voting Federation member contributes at least \$5.00 annually if 25 or older, and at least \$2.00 annually if under 25. Voting membership is required for all Federation officers or committee members and for all annual meeting participants with vote. The annual meeting nominates the Federation officers, the Executive Committee, and National Committee. The election is by mail ballot, sent all voting members. The Executive Committee implements the program formulated at the annual meeting, meets at least quarterly, and has adinterim authority between annual meetings. It elects an Administrative Committee which handles interim matters of program and office routine, etc. The Administrative Committee meets monthly (at least eleven times yearly). The Administrative Committee is responsible to the Executive Committee, as the Executive Committee is responsible to the annual meeting and to the National Committee. All Executive Committee minutes are sent National Committee members. Any five National Committee members can secure reconsideration of any questioned Executive Committee action. The National Committee meets annually at the time of the annual meeting and in conjunction with the Executive Committee.

3) Your committee has had ample opportunity to note the work of our Executive Secretary, Jack R. McMichael. And we desire to express whole-hearted appreciation for his devotion to the work, his unstinted and fruitful labors, his sincere and fine spirit of co-operation in every good cause, and his unfailing courtesy in carrying out his heavy schedule of work. He has won the confidence of his fellow-workers, old and new, and we rejoice in his continued service as the Executive Secretary of the MFSA.

4) One of the problems that has come before our committee is a pamphlet produced under the release and signature of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C. This document singles out the MFSA as "a tool of the Communist Party" using the "prestige of the Methodist Church to promote the line of the Communist Party." The most damning reply that can be made to this document is simply to ask intelligent people to read it. But, further, the accuracy and reliability of the Un-American Activities Committee's work is attested to by a letter from its office to a member of Congress, written just seven days before the Committee launched its attack upon us, and which reads as follows:

"The Committee on Un-American Activities has never investigated nor cited the Methodist Federation for Social Action and there is very little information in file concerning the activities of the group. From various newspaper clippings on file with the Committee, we find that the following officers and speakers were in attendance at a conference of the group held in Kansas City in December, 1947."

Then follows a listing of eleven persons, which listing contains five errors.

In this connection a statement by Justice Douglas, of the U. S. Supreme Court is pertinent: "We must put an end to the shameful practice of branding everyone a Communist who espouses a liberal reform or promotes a program for the underprivileged."

Your committee calls attention to the fact that the attacks upon our Executive Secretary which were formerly so frequently repeated and found to be without foundation have now all but ceased; and instead the attacks now being made are against the Federation itself; which is as it should be, and need not cause us worry. For the Federation is an organization which challenges the status quo in behalf of a more Christian social order. This means inevitably that we invite opposition from the defenders of established special privilege and the status quo. If we did not meet such opposition it should cause us to raise question as to the effectiveness of our efforts.

5) Your committee faced, without adequate time for full consideration, the question of what should be our attitude toward co-operation in signing petitions for worthy causes sponsored by alleged Communist front organizations. Under the rules of procedure already prescribed, no such commitment could be made without ample consultation with the Administrative Committee and the entire Executive Committee. Whenever the Executive Secretary signs a statement in behalf of the Federation it has been fully cleared with these bodies.

Respectfully submitted as a Report of Progress,
THE STUDY COMMITTEE

Announcement

"Proclaim liberty throughout ALL the land unto ALL the inhabitants thereof" (Lev. 25:10) will be the theme of the All-Southern Assembly of the People's Congress of Applied Religion which will be held in Nashville, Tenn., April 29 through May 1, 1949.

Those interested should write for further information to The People's Institute of Applied Religion, Route No. 1, Box 186, Helena, Alabama.

In New York City twelve Communist Party leaders have been indicted, and eleven of them are currently being tried, not for any alleged acts of violence, but for their political philosophy, and for organizing a political party to propagate that philosophy. On the ground that ideas or philosophy cannot and should not be outlawed in a democracy, the American Civil Liberties Union and others have urged that the indictments be withdrawn and the trial be called off. As indicated in the last issue of the BULLETIN, Federationists at Oskaloosa were also concerned with the important issues raised by the nature of the indictment and the trial, and asked the Executive Committee to determine just what implementation would be given to that concern. Methodist Federation philosophy roots in the Gospel of Jesus, and supports American constitutional democracy. We champion freedom of expression for others, as well as ourselves. We are eager for the communists to get a fair trial, and for them to be enabled financially to carry their defense to the highest, and probably fairest, court in our land, the Supreme Court. This will be very costly. So our Executive Committee has voted for Federationists who are concerned and who so desire, to contribute to a special defense fund. Contributions sent to our national office, and earmarked for the purpose, will be gladly received and will be passed on to the defense lawyers for their use in helping meet heavy trial costs.